

THE
POOR MAN'S FRIEND:

AN
ADDRESS
TO
THE INDUSTRIOUS
AND MANUFACTURING PART
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE readers of a book, from the money they pay for it, and the time they bestow on reading it, think they have a right to know something about the author. His integrity, his circumstances, the possibility of his being led astray by temptation, or of his writing under the direction and influence of a man who has some point to serve, are indeed things of great importance. Aware of this, I shall inform my readers, that I am a manufacturer, of what I call the old cast; that is to say, in the former part of my life, I have toiled many a day, both early and late, for the sum of tenpence Sterling. Industry, however, overcomes all things. I have been enabled, by the blessing of God, to educate a very promising family of seven sons; and, by their assistance, and my own savings, I am at this moment worth more than 100l. Sterling. Let not any person imagine, that, on account of my property, I would recommend peace and good order, or any unaccountable doctrine, to my fellow-citizens. No. I reject such an idea; and, if the general good requires the sacrifice, I am ready, with my family and fortune, and my aged limbs, to promote the good of my country. I am told, the French are just now making a violent struggle for the recovery of their liberty, and I sincerely wish they may employ proper measures; for certainly there never was a generous nation so much and cruelly oppressed. A gentleman of great knowledge in the affairs of nations, and who has

travelled very far, told me, a number of years ago, that the most industrious poor in that country would often labour for fourpence a day; and that even part of that might be squeezed from them by their haughty superiors. Even their lives, he said, were not held of any account by the laws of the country; for, if a captain of the army, or a man of rank, had murdered a peasant, he could have obtained a pardon without the form of a trial. These are grievances and burdens worth the pains of redressing.

I had lately a book given me, said to be written by one Thomas Paine, in two parts, at a reduced price. My neighbour who made me a present of the copy, told me, that it would clearly prove to me that I was a slave and a beggar; that we had no constitution; and that, if I willed it, I might be equal to any man in the country. I replied to him, that I willed it with all my heart, but that I did not think I was a slave or a beggar; and, however selfish it might be, I secretly thought of my hundred pounds. I have since read the book with great attention; and though there are many parts of it whereof I cannot discover the meaning, yet, as far as I am able, I will point out the consequences, civil, moral, and religious, of his schemes; which, I think, he has forgotten to do.

But, first, I would choose to be informed of some particulars with regard to the author himself. Is he an industrious man? Has he any particular art or profession by which he subsists himself and his family? Does he gain three shillings a day? Has he any paternal inheritance, or any thing in the country worth defending? I am told by his admirers, in answer to these questions, that he is a man of profound abilities; that he lives by his wits; and that he has made a wonderful discovery in our government, namely, that it has no constitution. But, suppose all his schemes carried into execution, I perceive he has chalked out a number of pretty little offices, worth 500*l.* a year: and, who would be so worthy to fill one of them as this independent gentleman? I should like very much to be a legislator myself, and so would we all,—all legislators. But they tell me, that he refused a great sum of money, rather than not have his book published; and indeed he mentions this himself with the greatest modesty.

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To proceed with his book, I observe, that he speaks very beautifully of society and civilization. 'Formal government,' says he, 'makes but a small part of civilized life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name, and idea, than in fact.' As a proof of such an opinion, he mentions, that for upwards of two years, the Americans acted very properly on the principles of a general association, without any formal government. I mention this just by the way, to shew on what substantial facts his general principles are founded. But we will be better able to judge of this position, when we have endeavoured to understand its meaning. As far as I am able to follow him, he wishes to establish a distinction between what he calls formal government, and the ordinary course of law and justice in the country; between something which exists in his mind, and the civil government executed in every town and county, by means of parish officers, magistrates, quarterly sessions, juries, and assize. If this be his meaning, of which I am not certain, the idea is altogether absurd. For all these stand in immediate connection with the idea of power and force, in the constitution itself. When we see a single constable, by producing his authority, overawing a multitude of enraged men, we ascribe not his influence to any virtue in his appearance, or his staff, but to the government of the country, whether it be in substance or in form. But, how does formal government make a small part of civilized life? Does it seldom appear to act? If Mr Paine derived this observation from the execution of the laws in Great Britain, he could not have bestowed on the Government a greater compliment. A parent who keeps all his children in obedience, without appearing to exert his authority, has undoubtedly more merit, than he who is constantly repeating his laws in form. Take, now, the general laws of the country, together with the power of executing them, and tell me what else keeps the villain and the cheat of civil society constantly in awe. I speak to a race of men, who are, in general, as honest as any in the country; and who, from their situation, have commercial dealings to a considerable extent. I appeal the matter to my brethren; and I speak from my own feelings. When you are engaged in those

transactions in which you are liable to be imposed on; and when you are placed in those situations in which you are exposed to danger, whether do you place your confidence in the beautiful perfection of civil manners, or on the laws and good government of your country? I observe, in general, that the delusion of Mr Paine's book consists in this, that he ascribes more virtue and knowledge to mankind than they are really possessed of. I will assert it, that there are a great number of designing and wicked men in society; men who are capable of imposing on the goodness of our hearts: and I pray God this may not be one of the number. Let us not depend entirely on what we fear on all occasions, but also on what we hear and see. I hope it is exaggerated; but when I take a view of the characters of many men, who, from their abilities, would naturally influence a great number of the best of my friends, I am happy that I have as little as possible to do with their legislation. Are you sure that every man who is just now endeavouring to push you on to dangerous and hazardous measures, is a man of upright intentions; that he is solely devoted to your good; and that he has no selfish expectation? Far be it from me to give you unfavourable opinions of human nature; nor do I profess myself qualified to speculate, like Mr Paine, on good order, arising from the common usage, and unceasing circulation of interest, and other things equally unmeaning, and arising from formal government. How can men of our level decide on questions of so much intricacy? How do we know when the principles of government began to act on society; or in what degree they operate on our present manners? Compare our state for a hundred years past, with what it was, under a government of a different kind, and you will perceive a vast difference in point of freedom, and in point of happiness. The formal government in that period, was constantly appearing to act in cruel, and arbitrary and oppressive measures; and now, says Mr Paine, it is of less consequence, because it appears not so much to act.

To bring his argument to plain English, it is, that we could go on very well, without any kind of formal government; that every man would act his own part in society; that laws are troublesome and pernicious things; and that constitutions are a trick of the state, contrived by

by knaves to keep fools in awe. In the same way, a rascal, who had forfeited his life to the laws of his country, would most excellently reason.—It is a cruel and absurd practice, to fix a rope about a man's neck, and squeeze him to death. No civilized state of society should employ halters or gibbets: 'formal government makes but 'a small part of civilized life.' Where is our boasted liberty? Why should I be put to death? 'Will not the 'unceasing circulation of interest, passing through its million of channels,' be a better security than such cruel and absurd laws? But, allowing that the great mass of mankind in Great Britain are, generally speaking, honest, as I believe they are; yet, as the tendency of this book is to overturn all the national principles by which we have been hitherto preserved, it is proper to inquire, whether this might not be prejudicial to the moral character of individuals. What do you think of the butchering in France? Is there any of my brethren who would desire to participate in such scenes? If I had put the same question ten years ago, to those who deluged Paris with human blood, they would have shuddered at the very idea. I will not enter on the question of necessity in their situation; but I am sure, that no man in his sober senses will say it is necessary in ours. The intention of this book is, to bring us back to the first principles of society, to aggravate our oppressions, and to represent us in a situation equally destitute of freedom with the inhabitants of France; and, if we were fools enough to believe his absurd positions, how can we answer it, that there will not be found among us, men sufficiently wicked to perpetrate deeds that they can never atone for? Paine would tell me, that the French themselves hold these deeds in abomination. But I will tell him a plain fact, that he is, at this moment, sitting in the same convention with the abominable perpetrators of such deeds; that they possess the same authority, and influence, and salary, with himself; and that the best government which human wisdom can devise, is not able to repel, from its chief assembly, the greatest delinquents.

SECTION II.

* For man to be free, it is sufficient that he wills it.*
 What a precious and inimitable person this is! He passes upon us the most certain and self-evident facts, as the fruit of profound thought, either in the French nation, or in himself. But there is more in this: he applies them to our particular condition, as standing in need of his freedom, and his willing. This puts me in mind of an advice given to a neighbour of mine, who was a passionate, simple man, but, at the same time, governed his wife and family with a considerable degree of sternness and severity. This would not serve: he was told, that the most unlimited submission on the part of his wife, was no proof of his manhood, unless he frequently gave her a good beating. I shall enter somewhat particularly into this fashionable doctrine of a nation willing to be free, and then attend to Paine's proposals for the security of this freedom.

It is a most certain fact, that, if you bring the whole force and mind of any whole body of people into one direction, there is nothing that can withstand their operation. This is just telling me, that if I go one road, I cannot go another at the same time. It is as true as the sun gives light, or the fire burns. But this is nothing to us; for, if we have nearly as much liberty as we could possibly desire, and the certainty of gradually refining our constitution to the highest degree of possible perfection, we should surely be madmen, merely for the sake of an experiment, to try whether this man be speaking truth or falsehood, on this occasion. Before he wills to be free, it is of some importance, to a reasonable man, to know that he is *not* free. This is a thing that I wish to recommend to your serious consideration. Do you feel any restraints, except those which are natural and moral, on your present condition? Are there not many instances of men of your own level, rising, by industry and attention, to competency and affluence? When you happen to lay up a small matter for bad weather, as they say, is it not perfectly secured, by the laws of your country, to you and to your children? What then do you precisely mean by this whole nation willing to be free? If you mean freedom from all the restraints
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of moral obligation, and the inequalities arising from mental abilities, and strength of body, you must not apply to government, you must not depend on your own will, but you must pray to God himself, to make you wicked, and wise, and miserable. I am very glad, that I am not able, like Paine, to speak in a language which you do not understand. But a whole nation, or the majority of it, may will any thing. They may will, that there shall be no more mechanics of any kind;—no weavers, no shoemakers, no taylor, no rich, and no poor. Will it then follow, that all these occupations and conditions ought to cease in civil society? Suppose, that we were all, by one stroke of national will, made equal with regard to the enjoyments of this world, I cannot see that it would make my condition any better; for I reckon my own labour, at present, a better inheritance to me, than an equal share of the national wealth and property: And, even on the supposition, that, by bringing down others, I were to rise above my present occupation and fortune; yet, how could I live, unless the inferior occupations of life were still going on? Even though it were against the national will, must I not still have my weaver, and shoemaker, and taylor? and would not these men, in their turn, have a right to level me? Of this, I shall have occasion to speak more fully afterwards.

Let us now consider, what would be the plain consequence of this doctrine, of our willing to be free, in the present condition of Great Britain. If it were to affect all ranks of men in the country, that is, if there was no opposition from any quarter, it would be perfectly irresistible. Where there is no opposition, there is no resistance. But, suppose the happy combination of powers in our government, the security which we have enjoyed, and the liberty and happiness which we still enjoy, should inspire a number of reasonable men with confidence in that constitution which our ancestors supported with their best and dearest concerns; What would be the consequence? Let every man in the nation who enjoys peace and prosperity, and the full and adequate price of his labour, unite with one heart to support that constitution, from which they derive such blessings; and I will forfeit my best interests, that Paine and his adherents will not dare to
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shew their face. It is this which gives me a bad opinion of the man;—to apply, in an unfair and uncandid manner, opinions which are true in themselves, to a nation which stands in no kind of need of them. Look around you: take in the whole circle of your friends, as far as your knowledge extends. Is there any industrious man who has not the means of earning a full competency for himself and his family? Did ever any government, contrived by human wisdom, for the general good of mankind, do more for its subjects? If we had the full liberty of wishing, this constitution is so admirably adapted to our several wants, that we have very little to wish for. The opinions which I have, on this subject, expressed in my language, must be familiar to you, and easily understood. Since I remember, the price of my labour is four times as much as it was. But, in the space of forty years, I ask this plain question, Is any article of food or clothing four times the price? Was beef ever at one penny the pound, or superfine broad cloth at 4s. 6d.? I am now able, therefore, to lay up money; when, formerly, I had a scanty subsistence: And would not I be an egregious fool, to be flattered out of this comfortable state, by a few artful words about the oppression of government?

Now, if the aristocracy, as Paine calls them, by which he means sometimes Lords, and sometimes landed gentlemen, have the art and the means of staving all, or great part of the heaviest of the taxes, from their shoulders; how comes it to pass, that we make an easy shift to live, while I know many a Lord and gentleman who would be extremely glad to lay their hands on my hundred pounds? The whole question then with Paine, is not, Whether we could will ourselves free; but, Whether we could will ourselves into a better situation. In the following sections of this work, I shall pay attention to Mr Paine's schemes for making us a wiser and happier people,—in regard to his representation; in regard to the greater equality of condition; in regard to the plausible idea of providing for the aged, &c.; and finally, in regard to what I reckon our best interests, the expression of affection and homage to Him who rules over all.

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SECTION III.

IN giving my sentiments of Paine's representative government, I am far from saying that the present representation of Great Britain is as perfect as it might be. Of this I profess myself by no means to be a competent judge. All that I have to do is, to expose the weakness and the absurdity of this man's projects; and for this task, I think, it requires no uncommon ability. 'That which is called government,' says he, 'or that which we ought to conceive government to be, is no more than some common centre in which all the parts of society unite.' This definition is perfectly just; but we have still the liberty of inquiring, whether his mode of representation corresponds with this general principle. This mode of representation, in few words, is, That every individual of the country shall have an elective voice in the members of an assembly, which, for a certain number of years, shall have the whole affairs of the nation under their management, without any controul, except that which may arise from the electors. Now, what you have to consider, is, whether this assembly be the common centre, where all the happiness, and interests, and parts of society shall unite. I have several reasons which incline me to believe that it is not. In the *first* place, I myself, and I will venture to say the same thing for many of my brethren, am by no means qualified to judge of the hearts and abilities of men. I might be allured, by a number of fine speeches, to place confidence in a person who would afterwards deceive me; and I must either proclaim my own folly, or deprive myself of the right of complaining of his conduct. This is not all: it is a talent of human nature, to be expert at finding out all the selfish advantages of any situation; and it has been ever thought dangerous, to place even an honest man, where, he has strong motives to deceive, and plausible reasons for covering the deceit. How do I know, then, that my very respectable and honest neighbour may not be imposed on himself, or may not take allowance as a representative, which, as an individual, he would have been ashamed of?

2dly, It is impossible for human wisdom to devise a scheme of election, confining the whole power to one assembly,

which shall in any degree correspond with Paine's definition of government. Paine himself never thought of sitting down and dividing the representation of Great Britain. The habits, the education, the circumstances, and the local situation, both of societies and of individuals, in the same country, are totally different, and constantly changing. On what principle, then, would you secure the property and equal right of the whole? How would you beforehand forereason on effects, depending on such a multitude of causes, as to balance exactly the powers in Paine's assembly? He would answer, Let the whole be virtuous, and there is no danger. But human government, like human laws, is not made for the virtuous, but for transgressors. To descend from reasoning to plain facts; Is it not evident, that, in such an assembly, the influence of a city like London, where combinations of merchants are formed on united principles, would easily preponderate over a vast number of country members; or, that the insolence of the London mob would keep your assembly in constant terror? You would defend them with an army of citizens. But, are you not aware, that the army, which constantly acts in the defence of embodied government, becomes the government itself? The guards of an assembly are very different from the guards of a King. They are, so to speak, deliberative guards. They are influenced to take a side on every question; and one part of their masters are tampering with them, while the other threaten. But, on the other hand, how do you represent, according to Paine's system, a number of men, whom I am proud to call my fellow-citizens, possessing a country like the Highlands of Scotland? They have no commerce, and there is no necessity that they should have equal influence, in any government, with a large and manufacturing town. Yet, bring them to actual exertion, as they might very soon be, were this ridiculous and inconsiderate scheme of representation adopted; and they would drive the merchants and the mob of a large city before them like a flock of sheep.

3dly, A large assembly, possessed of unlimited powers, are incapable of deliberate councils. One day, they are seized with a fit of virtue, and a strong passion for securing the rights and happiness of their electors: On another, they discover, that the most general representation of the people
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has the power of framing partial and oppressive laws. They frequently act under the influence of terror, without cause; and, more frequently still, under that of designing and oratorical men, without argument. At one time, they come forward, and tell you, that the representatives of a great nation should be disinterested men, and they resolve that they will not accept of any lucrative post for a number of years; and, at their next meeting, they will gravely say, that the fit of enthusiasm is now past, and that their former resolution, though generous, was contrary to the good of the country. In short, it is impossible to say what men will do, who have the power, and the frequent practice, of undoing what they have already done.

4thly, But, supposing the very best to happen, viz. that the people are equally modelled in the election, and that all their powers and their interests are so exactly combined, that they shall return a sufficient number of honest, and respectable, and independent representatives; yet, what security have you, by this method, for the continuance of the same spirit? Resolution, and public virtue, in a whole body of people, naturally flag. They are roused by oppression, and they may, in some instances, be inflamed to a certain degree, by an author like this: But, on every such occasion, there is an exertion of the public mind, which no patriotism has ever been able to keep long in full stretch. This idea, an interested writer like Paine, keeps entirely out of view; and, for a very good reason; because the flagging of the public spirit, would be his harvest. Then the designs of interested men would operate without restraint. When we returned to the bosoms of our families, or to the activity of private life, then they would enjoy full leisure to watch for our constitution. If you read Paine's book from beginning to end, you will not find one word of this; although we all know very well, that the best human things must be liable to error in their original frame, and corruption in their use. But he has a relief from all kind of abuse, in the frequent appeals to the people at large, and this leads me to mention the last absurdity of this mode of government.

5thly, The people at large, will not interest themselves, excepting when they feel the existence of an actual oppression; and when they do act, it must be with great violence.

lence. The ordinary elections might possibly be conducted with sobriety, and you might change the members of every assembly. But, will this effect any change in the dispositions of human nature? Do you expect to infuse principles of honesty into the minds of men, by electing them to represent you in a national assembly? Or, if you give them the national purse for any space of time, Do you imagine you can make it so short, that they will not learn the trick of putting it into their pockets? Now, although the members of every assembly are new, yet they were not created for the purpose. They were capable of perceiving every mean of profit and corruption employed by the last; and they will be ready enough to follow their example. All these things are extremely probable; and, according to Paine's system, you have no remedy, but that of turning back the government to the people, to be modelled again by the whim and direction of another Paine, cast in a different mould.

Although I am no reasoner like this man, I shall pledge myself against him, or any other, for the truth and probability of the five above mentioned observations. And, what do they prove to us, but, that the supreme power and authority should not be lodged with any individual, or any one body of men; that public councils, from the very construction of government, should be slow; that rapidity, even of reform, lays the foundation for rapidity of abuse; that, where there is no controul on the different parts of a constitution, there can exist no liberty; and that the most perfect government, is that, which, without confusion, can correct its own errors? These are the opinions which I have early imbibed, and which I shall now carry with me to my grave. But you will observe, that this combination of powers, this check, this controul, this dignity of deliberation, and this capacity of reform, are all conspicuous in the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain: And hence we may conclude, that this constitution, or one similar to it, is the only central point, where the interest, the happiness, and every part of society can ever unite. I believe Paine himself, in his present situation, surrounded as he is with the haughty Jacobin, the unruly leveller, and the lawless murderer at noon-day, if he is an honest man, will confess the truth of these remarks; and I

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only regret, that it is not in my power to express them more fully to my brethren, partly, from the want of practice in writing, and partly for want of time; for I am afraid that every newspaper will bring us an account of the sacrifice of this man to his rashness and folly; which event would give a more complete answer to his book than any I can write.

Before I conclude this section, I shall make an observation or two, on the only instance which Paine has given, or indeed can give, of the existence of something like his fanciful representation. This is in America. But let me inform you, that this is the only country in the world where such a scheme could be adopted with any chance of success. The people in America are levelled by nature. They are without an extensive commerce; without almost the existence of manufactures; and possessed of unbounded territory of uncultivated lands. They want nothing of internal production, but men. The seeds of jealousy, of covetousness, of ambition and of war, are not yet sowed among them: and yet, this man would have us copy a picture, of which, from our situation, we possess not one feature of political resemblance. Is this ignorance, or wickedness? In such a state, from the want of men, the price of labour, and the returns from any scheme of agriculture or manufacture, are nearly on the same level; of consequence, the state of a free servant, is nearly equal to the state of a master: and, to remedy this inconvenience, they have continued two practices, which Paine has not thought fit to mention; the first is, the perpetual slavery of their African, and the second, the occasional servitude of their Christian brethren. The only government in the world, which he boasts of for a few years practice of his excellent mode of equality and representation, tramples, in this manner, on the rights of men. 'The scene which that country presents to the eye of a spectator,' says he, 'has something in it which generates, and encourages great ideas.' But, uncover this scene, of the colouring of such a writer, and it presents nothing to the eye of a Briton, but a number of men, equal from necessity, and a vast number more, without any one of the rights of representation, or of man, of which he is so keen a defender. And if we look among the latter, we will

will find many of our countrymen, and, perhaps, of our blood-relations, giving seven years of their life and their labour, because they had not seven pounds to pay their passage. It is somewhat astonishing, that this framer of constitutions, should perceive so much misery in our streets, on an occasional visit to the country, and yet, though he assisted in the American assemblies, seems to be ignorant of this manifest oppression. I must confess, however, that the masters of these slaves, pay all the taxes; and I wonder Paine did not mention the fact, merely to shew, what excellent expedients they fell on in America, to free the lowest parts of the community from such abominable grievances. I desire him, or, (as it is very likely, in his present remote and difficult situation, he will never hear of my feeble endeavours), I desire any of his friends in this country, to inform him, that I, and a great multitude of my brethren, would wish to be informed, in his next address, in what manner it comes to pass, that, in the best mode of representation ever devised by human wisdom, where there was first a constitution, and then a government, there should not only exist, the hateful traffic in human blood, but that it should be sanctioned by his blessed assemblies. This practice will be continued in America, till, in the progress of society, the ranks of mankind be filled up; and then, poor, but happy and independent subjects, will be sufficient to occupy all the inferior parts of life. From this statement of facts, it requires two things to make Great Britain similar to America. The first is, that we banish, once every thirty years, the fourth part of our inhabitants to some unpeopled region, which, if the nation wills, it can easily do; and the second is, to reduce one half of those who remain, to a state of bondage and slavery. Paine was aware of many things, but, I am persuaded, there were many in the principles and nature of government, that never entered into his calculations. Having mentioned these facts, I shall proceed, in the next section, to speak of the scheme of levelling, which, though not expressed in his book, is yet to be derived from it.

SECTION IV.

I SAID, that Paine's principles, applied to Great Britain, led us to what is called the Levelling scheme; and I shall give you my reason for saying so. It is a very simple one, namely, That, in overturning a government so firmly rooted in the minds of the greatest part of its members, which he evidently wishes to do, it is impossible to encourage abettors to such an absurd scheme, without offering them, or, at least, having implied, some extraordinary reward. In other words, if any person would put the question to me, whether I would lend my assistance to such a scheme, I would naturally deliberate on the advantage which myself or my country would gain from it. When I am brought into this situation, I look around me; and when I perceive the wages which I can gain if I am industrious, and the possibility of accumulating a fortune, if I am a man of understanding, I confess I see no method of bettering my present condition by a revolution of government, except I can procure to myself a certain share of that property, which is secured, by the present one, to its lawful possessor. I wish to speak to the hearts of my brethren, and even to those secret sentiments which may have sprung up in their minds, not unchecked, from the perusal of such a book. Now, let us attend with coolness and impartiality, to the examination of such ideas. In the first place, I would wish to know what happiness would arise to every individual, from an equal, or from any other new division of national property; or, in what manner we would choose to divide it. Let us talk presently of land. I have heard of several meetings, where they have entered on business, and proposed plans for the division of land. But this, certainly, is going too hastily to work; for, in an equal division, every individual of the country must have an equal share; and, I am afraid, in this case, mine will not be worth my acceptance. But how will you proportion it to the merits, to the wants, and to the worthlessness of all individuals? If I have any occupation by which I can earn thirty pounds a year, I certainly am not entitled to so much as a person who, from idleness, or vice, will not earn ten pounds. And what would you do with a great number,

number, who, with their proper share of the national property, could not make any kind of subsistence for themselves or their families? The poorest part of the community that I presently know in a state of family existence, are those who have a few acres of barren ground, for a few shillings of rent. A person who gives his labour at the present price, is a lord, compared with them. In the very division of property, you will find the seeds of that inequality of rank which has existed in every civilized state, and which, from the providence of God, in granting different abilities of body and mind, must for ever exist. Why are the duties of the Christian religion adapted to the different ranks of men, if no difference was to prevail in society? Why does the apostle Paul recommend, in beautiful language, the kindness of masters, and the obedience of servants? Does not the Almighty himself say, that by him kings reign, and princes decree justice?

But, suppose the levelling scheme were to be actually put in execution: How long is it to continue? Am I to be for ever deprived of reaping the fruits of my own industry? If I should happen to be more expert than my neighbour at any kind of labour, or if I should starve myself of one meal a day, who is to have the disposal of my profits, or my savings? Suppose, in this manner, I accumulate some thousand pounds, and suppose some of the proprietors of the shares of national property should find them inconvenient to hold; what equitable law can hinder him from selling, or me from buying? Here, again, you have the foundation of a large estate, and you are just where you were. That the reasoning of Paine, applied to Great Britain, leads to these absurd conclusions, I have already shewed; and I shall here descend to some particulars. On the one hand, he exclaims against the wretchedness of our poor, and the oppression of our taxes; and, on the other, he says that there is no luxury equal to that of a great estate, and proposes a very ingenious plan of diminishing the value of property. These are the plausible topics which a leveller would hold out, to excite the indignation of the people of any government; and therefore, we may inquire into the good sense on which they are founded. The wretchedness, and the number of poor in any country, arise from a variety of causes. The cha-
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rities of the people may be so exceeding great, as to make it the interest of a great many to counterfeit wretchedness, rather than submit to labour. A number more may, by excesses of all kinds in their youth, so debilitate their constitution, that they shall be unable to earn their daily subsistence. The providence of God may reduce a family to poverty, by sickness and by death: And, finally, the oppression of taxes may render it impossible for the most industrious to gain a livelihood. If Paine had reasoned like an honest man, (I speak not of his understanding, because he has it not in his power to make it better than it is), would not he have mentioned some of those obvious causes for the wretchedness in our streets? Now, all those, except the last, are totally distinct from the oppression of Government; and I will farther maintain, that they are of such a nature, that no government, in a country full of people, can remedy them. The laws of no country act with so unlimited a controul, as to prevent the charity which is given in secret; nor can they endow men with discernment to tell, on all occasions, who are proper objects. If, in the strong language of our Saviour, the right hand, in giving alms, is not to know what the left hand does, how would you contrive, in any government, an effectual law to prevent the work of mercy? And if this is allowed, there will always be a counterfeiting of distress. In the same manner, idleness and sickness have been ever considered as beyond the reach and power of any government to remedy. The reason is obvious: without industry, it is impossible for mankind, in any place of this earth, to enjoy the comforts of existence; and therefore, the want of inclination, or the want of power, must render men without these comforts. I speak my plain sentiments of these things; if you do not find them true, you need not believe them. Paine passes over, in silence, all those causes of poverty, and fixes on the oppression of the taxes; which we have now to consider. If any person should tell me, that our taxes are not very great, I would think he had not paid much attention to the subject. And, if there were not at present a prospect, and a possibility of having both the taxes and the national debt diminished, I would not at all speak to it; for I am fully of opinion, that if they were accumulating from generation to

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generation, they would at some period become insupportable. But, the very contrary of this is the case at present; and Paine's reasoning about them, is altogether void of principle and foundation. The taxes which I feel, are, and must be, on the articles of life which I consume. Now, the method which I take to know whether I be oppressed, is this: I compute how much of these articles I can purchase with what I can earn with the labour of my hands; if it is sufficient to maintain myself and family, then, I am not oppressed; and when I compare it with what it was forty years ago, and find that I can now buy more of those articles than I could do then, I declare myself to be in a better condition. But, after all this plain and simple reasoning, this author still maintains, that they are not equally imposed, and that the poor bear the greatest part of the burden. He mentions an instance of this, in a comparison between the beer brewed for sale, and the land-tax; but you will observe, that though this mode of reasoning were not altogether deceitful, as I shall shew it by and by to be, yet it is by no means giving us the whole truth: for I am informed, that there are taxes on windows, on servants, on tea, on wines, on carriages, and on all the unnecessaries of life, from which, my condition makes me altogether free. But I would choose to be farther informed, in what manner the aristocracy, as he calls them, are able to get themselves exempted from any tax. If the articles, by taxation, are raised to a great price, have not I the power to raise the price of wages; and is it not a fact, that I actually do so? If I am a farmer's servant, and take more money from him; by this means, is not he disabled from giving so great a rent? If I am a manufacturer, is not this an additional price to those who consume the articles of my production? It is not I, then, who pay the taxes, but that very aristocracy, who, Paine says, are careful to lay the burden on the poor. And though he was incapable of perceiving this, yet, experience will teach them, ignorant as he represents them to be, that in every tax they are imposing, they are immediately or ultimately putting their hands into their own pockets. Suppose, on the other hand, that the taxes of this country were at once so much reduced, as to enable me to purchase all the conveniences of life at the half of the

the price, whether, in this case, would it be possible to keep up the wages at their present rate? I maintain, that this will be impossible, as long as you find men who will be content to labour for food and raiment: and this will be the case in every populous and civilized country, as long as christianity and civilization remain. I am a friend, at the same time, to the reduction of taxes; not because it will better the condition of the poor, but because it is an evidence of the general prosperity of the nation. Every attempt to force property out of its natural channels, either by giving money without labour, on the one hand, or reducing the value of estates on the other, may be flattering to the idle and worthless, but, in practice, will be found altogether unserviceable to the great interests of society. The rich not only pay our taxes, but they are the market for our commodities. If we were all brought to the same level in point of property, every one of us would be so attentive, so necessitous, and so fruitful in expedients, that manufacturers and tradesmen of all kinds, would neither find a merchant for their articles, nor price for their labour. On these accounts, I would advise my countrymen not to be rash in adopting schemes of violent innovation. The French envied our happiness for many years before they thought of imitating us. Let us, in the same manner, wait for the application and success of their principles of government. We were not accustomed to have a high opinion of the sober and deliberate councils of that nation: we have no reason to depend much on them, in that state of fluctuation of interest and power, which must exist in the midst of tumult and revolution.

SECTION V.

IN this section, I intend to speak of some of those proposals which the Author plainly holds out, for the purposes of popularity: for I have considered them again and again, and it is not in my power to find any other reasonable motive. The first I shall mention, is, his scheme for an alliance between England, France, and America. I am as much at a loss as he is, to know whether this alliance be practicable: but, taking it for granted that it is carried

execution, I am very far from being so sanguine about its success. 'The national expences of France and England,' says he, 'would be lessened: The same fleets and armies will no longer be necessary to either; and the reduction can be made ship for ship on each side.' Now, I humbly suppose, that this plan has not been digested with that thought and accuracy which would be requisite to reduce it to practice. I should like to be informed, in the first place, whether we can reasonably believe, that, in consequence of Paine's mode of government and representation, all jealousy and grounds of difference shall cease between France and England. The idea is a good one, as it holds out the prospect of universal peace to mankind. Whether this can exist in the present state of human nature, is a different question. But the reduction of the fleets, ship for ship on each side, even though we were afterwards to quarrel, places the two nations on the same footing. This is what he would wish to make us believe; but it is by no means a fact. The strength of a nation does not consist in its number of ships; but in the means of procuring ships. If Great Britain can build them more speedily, more cheaply, and, finally, if she has more money to do it with than France, the French would be arrant fools to destroy one of theirs for one of ours. I mention those facts, to shew the folly of such projects, and the impossibility of reducing them to practice. Such plans, for any thing we know, may arise from the perfection of civil society; but a man, who holds them out as a principle of government, when the state of society will not bear them in practice, is either a projector, or has some hidden purpose, for the accomplishment of which, he wishes to impose on our senses.

The next of his proposals which I shall take notice of, is, what he calls his donation of twenty shillings each for fifty thousand births, and as much for fifty thousand marriages. I shall not inquire, whether this might be adopted by any nation; whether it is the practice in America and France; or if we should altogether ascribe to Mr Paine himself the honour of the discovery: But one thing is evident, that it is plainly calculated to acquire the confidence of a number of people, even though they should not accept of his bounty. On those occasions, when the donations

donations are proposed to be given, the mind is open to social impressions. As we say, we stretch a point, and are exceedingly merry at the birth of a child, or receiving home a wife. We are very poor indeed, if we do not entertain our neighbours at a greater expence than twenty shillings. At the same time, this would be a very convenient addition; and as we got it for nothing, we would spend it freely. Paine's health would not be forgotten: and if we exceeded a little the bounds of our usual moderation and sobriety, we would comfort ourselves with this, that the best things may be abused; and that the greatest efforts of human wisdom, are not able to contrive a form of government, which shall not be exposed to some imputation of censure.

The greatest opposition, in any country, to a revolution of government, is from those men who are advanced in life, and who wish not again to meddle much with its concerns, or to be plunged into its troubles. In this country, when to old age we add the experience of many blessings enjoyed under our happy constitution, this opposition may be expected to be very violent. Instead of the peace and prosperity which we have enjoyed, would we wish to give the inheritance of popular tumult and civil broil to our children? On this account, this writer endeavours to bribe away the natural reluctance which old age might have to his absurd schemes of government. When he was speculating about his principles, he talks so beautifully of the order and happiness of a well regulated society, and with so much sympathy and concern for our poverty and wretchedness, that one at first is made to believe, that poverty and wretchedness were to be excluded from his plans. It appears, afterwards, however, that he finds himself obliged to provide for the poor and the aged. He is not for doing this in the common way of charity; which all good and worthy men have thought a moral and a Christian duty; but altogether as a matter of right. It is an ungracious task, I confess, to seem to oppose any plan intended to give subsistence and comfort to a numerous part of the community: I hope no man will say that I do not feel as much for the wants and miseries of the poor, as this author or any other; but I am surely entitled to consider the consequences of his scheme. I shall, by the
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by, without laying much stress upon it, say, that every general plan of this kind, which gives the poor a legal claim to provision, is an encroachment on the private charity which Christianity and natural compassion bid us exercise towards our distressed brethren. It is a common practice to complain of the public burdens, in whatever way the money is disposed; and the people who partake of the general funds, whether they be poor or rich, are always objects, in some degree, of the public hatred. From what this author says of the poor-rates in England, and from what I know of the assessments in Scotland, although these are only partial in their operation, I know this to be true. Now, if it were a thing subject to calculation, it would be easy to shew, that, in one shape or another, in money, in provision, in medical assistance, and in clothes, there is more given to the aged in Great Britain, than what he proposes by his new mode of distribution. The spirit of this country, at present, is melting charity: and why should we put an effectual check to it, not by putting the poor out of its reach, but beyond its sympathy? But, suppose this new mode were actually to give more comfortable subsistence to a greater number of families; yet still it would do material injury to the state, by subtracting from the public virtue. Gratitude, on the one hand, and benevolence on the other, would become virtues of less estimation; and whether this, in the end, might not render the state of the poor more wretched and miserable, would be only discovered by the trial. It is my own opinion, that it would; and for this plain reason, that when you corrupt the general opinion, a scheme of this kind, even though it had been adopted on Paine's recommendation, might be very easily overturned. What I have said, is by no means the chief objection I have to this seemingly charitable mode of providing for the aged. I should wish to inquire, what the effects of it would be, on the virtue and industry of those who might become the objects of it. Although I am an old man, I can yet recal many of the sentiments of my youth; and I frequently take great delight in contemplating the wild projects, and even the follies, of that period now past. I had a method of forming schemes in my imagination, which I never thought of realizing. The labour was nothing; for the imagination
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itself has the peculiar art of selecting all the bright parts, and easily surmounting all difficulties. In consequence of this talent, which, I say it without vanity, I possessed in a pretty eminent degree, a great many of Paine's projects are quite familiar to me. The burning of the French and English fleets, ship by ship, and several others I have had in my mind, as far back as I can remember; but, with regard to the twenty shillings at births and marriages, and this particular mode of providing for the aged, I confess, they were entirely new. This enables me, with more impartiality, to judge of the effect which this provision would have produced in my mind. I remember, in the wildest fancies of my youth, I was accustomed to look forward to a peaceful old age, wherein I could sit down in the midst of my family, with some comfortable savings, to make my heart merry. I have now attained this envied state; and, allowing somewhat for the waste of years, my body is as sound as industry and cheerfulness can make it. But you will observe, while this was only in prospect, I had, like other young people, to combat with the present temptation; to avoid every kind of unnecessary expence, and to resist the allurements to pleasure which my companions, and which my youthful fancy were perpetually exposing to my view. Now, if I can remember any thing of what I was, I am certain, that if this scheme had been reduced to practice, I would have been more ready to have yielded to any kind of temptation. Six or ten pounds a year, would have appeared an immense sum; and all my prudential resolutions for saving, would have been swallowed up in contemplating this fortune in reserve. Instead of the interest of one hundred pounds, and about forty pounds a year, which I easily make by my own labour and that of my family, some of my sons being still at home, I would have enjoyed ten pounds a year, a worn out constitution, and a debilitated posterity, by this pernicious scheme. "It is a good thing," as Paine says, "to provide for one hundred and forty thousand aged persons;" but doing it in his manner, may have a very bad tendency.

Since he has descended to particulars, which, I think, in prudence he ought not to have done, I shall take the liberty to inform him, that it would be easy for any man to propose a number of amendments in human affairs, and then

then ask, whether they were not good things. With my poor invention, I could enumerate many, which seem to have escaped this writer. As these calculations are tedious and disagreeable to me, I shall confine myself to one instance. Agreeable to his own statement, I shall take the number of inhabitants in Scotland and England, to be eighteen millions; at four to a family, there will be four millions and five hundred thousand families. Suppose, at an average, the four millions dine at the rate of one shilling for each family, and that they shall be persuaded, for the benefit of their health, and other good purposes, to retrench one dinner every week, the sum will amount to 28,571l.: this sum, divided among the remaining five hundred thousand, would afford them one shilling every week. The odd parts are dropped in this calculation. Now, will any man say, that 28,571l., divided among five hundred thousand poor families every week, is not a good thing? If I had Paine's manner of writing, I would add, O ye Great! while you are swallowing diseases in huge morsels of beef and pudding, think of this.

In the same manner, I have been told, that one million a year, at what they call compound interest, would, in a very short time, pay off the whole national debt; but Mr Paine thinks this impracticable: and this, by the by, is the only impracticable thing in his whole book.

SECTION VI.

I HAVE reserved this section, which is to be the last, for a few observations on the tendency of the vague principles of this book, to corrupt the religious opinions of my countrymen. I am not ashamed to declare, that I firmly believe in the purity of the Christian precepts, and the efficacy of the atonement of Christ for promoting the purity and the happiness of his servants. And I cannot perceive in what manner the belief of this system, the only one revealed from the Fountain of life, can be a political machine to keep mankind in bondage and slavery. Do you think, that the religion which teaches contentment in every condition of life, and which, at the same time, does not forbid resolution for the

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the general good, can, in any sense, be construed as against the interests and the rights of human nature? Having said this concerning the religion on which my best hopes are founded, I shall next, with all charity and submission, inquire into the Christianity of this book. This is of more consequence than at first you may be aware of; for, if nations or individuals are without substantial principles of religion, I maintain, that though their understandings may be good, yet, you have no security for upright intentions, or uniformity in conduct. This writer, I confess, says very little on the subject of religion; but, what he does say, gives me a very bad opinion of his creed. He represents the whole human race as the children of a family, presenting to their parent some token of gratitude and affection, on any particular day. Although I leave all men to the judgment of God, both with regard to their actions and opinions, yet, I cannot easily agree to a doctrine of this kind. For one thing, it destroys every kind of standard or rule of devotion to be found in the word of God, and leaves every man to rest perfectly satisfied with his own feeble endeavours. You see this author carrying this idea into practice; "For my own part," says he, "I am fully satisfied, that what I am now doing, &c. is acceptable in his sight;" while, as I have already shewed, this very book is calculated to excite dissension and animosity in the country. I will ask any reasonable and thinking man, who professes his belief in the Christian religion, whether there was the smallest occasion for the doctrines or precepts of it, if the devotion of every man could procure the invaluable blessings which it holds forth? With regard to myself, when my mind is at any time turned towards the Majesty of heaven, I should be very miserable, if I had not a better foundation of hope than the offering of my devout thoughts. I mention this, however, only as my private opinion; and I believe it to be the opinion of a great majority of my countrymen. How, then, are we to consider the religious sentiments of this person, who wishes not only to be our political reformer, but our apostle also? Is this extravagance in his religious opinions, the consequence of his wild and licentious principles of liberty? I believe this to be the fact; and I rest it, not on the feeble foundation of this single instance, but on what, I hear, is the prevailing bias of those nations, or individuals, who, in practice, or in speculation, have come nearest to his perfection

tion of government. There is a natural reason for this. After levelling the dignity of our Saviour, and the providence of God, and every principality and power in heaven, it is but a mere trifle to extend the same spirit to the property and the lives of those who are cast in the same mould with themselves. This is, at least, pointing out a reasonable motive for advancing an opinion subversive of revelation, at the end of a book subversive of all government. But this is not the whole danger to be apprehended from sudden and violent resolutions of any kind. We may be assured, that any great alteration of sentiment, with regard to what we have been accustomed to consider as essential principles, in one instance, will have a tendency to unhinge the mind, and produce a complete revolution of thought in every other. To make this plainer to you, I suppose, that if the majority in Great Britain were to adopt, in their greatest latitude, the modes of representation and government recommended by this fanciful writer, we would have no farther security for the religion which we have received from God, and which our fathers, at the risk of every thing called valuable in life, have handed down to us unpolluted. There is nothing, in reason or in nature, to prevent such a conclusion; for, if it were possible that the sense of a whole nation was so far perverted, as to call that a bad and oppressive constitution, which, a few weeks before, was, with a few exceptions, considered as a most admirable one, then, I maintain, that it is a portion of the same spirit, and neither more unaccountable nor more wicked, to overturn every principle of religion and virtue, in an equal period of time. On this account, we are highly indebted to this author, after instructing us in the duty of citizens, for informing us, in few words, of the importance of the Christian doctrines, and what he expects us to believe. I mention these things, however, just as they appear to me, without enlarging on ideas; which, I doubt not, will be more particularly illustrated, by men who have entered more deeply into theological subjects.

Having pointed out some of what I reckon to be the most glaring absurdities of this book, and the evil tendency of Paine's mode of representation and government, as applied to Great Britain, I shall, with all humility, address a few words to that association which calls itself "The General Convention of the Friends of the People."

I observe, with great pleasure, in their resolutions of December 12th 1792, that they disavow almost every pernicious opinion held forth in Paine's rights of man. "They hold all absurd and unjust violation of private property by an equal division, in utter detestation and abhorrence; and they declare, that they will maintain the established constitution of Great Britain, on its genuine acknowledged principles, consisting of three estates, King, Lords, and Commons." The Resolutions, to which this is a preamble, I consider as intended to serve two purposes: the *first*, to vindicate themselves from insidious, wicked, and inflammatory artifices, employed by the enemies of all reform, to misrepresent the friends of the people; and the *second* is, to give a clear and undisguised view of their intentions, to the public: for they modestly hint, in another paper of Resolutions, dated December 5th, that immaculate purity can never shrink from candid inquiry. It is on the last of these purposes, that I wish to make a few observations. I shall use no insidious, or inflammatory artifice, but speak my plain sentiments on this occasion; and I think I can do it with more effect, as I have been tampered with again and again, and my simplicity of nature attempted to be imposed on, by those who told me they were members of this general convention. I humbly apprehend, that it was incumbent on them, to give to the public, considering the present state of affairs, such an account of what they wish to be reformed, as could not possibly be mistaken. I apprehend also, that they pretend to do this; and that they have not done it. This, certainly, was the more necessary, as insidious attempts have been made to misrepresent and calumniate them; and as their enemies, strangers to the virtues by which they were actuated, had persisted in their misrepresentations. The gentlemen of that convention, will observe, that I have no intention of entering into their secret motives, on the one hand, nor am I obliged, on the other, to receive, without any allowance, a number of general expressions about virtue, and immaculate purity. I waited, with some degree of impatience, for the public declaration of their sentiments; and now, when I have received it in two hand-bills, I am nothing the wiser. I wanted to know in precise terms, and I call on them to declare, the specific reform which they desire us to join in

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accomplishing. That they have not done this, will appear evident to any person, who takes the trouble to peruse their hand-bills; but I choose not to leave any subject I happen to treat, on general grounds of censure or approbation. The reform of government which they wish to accomplish, is still clouded in doubtful and ambiguous terms. It consists of two parts: A shorter duration of Parliament; and an equal representation of the people. The *first* is sufficiently defined for any reasonable purpose, although, in a declaration of this kind, it would not have been amiss to have mentioned the precise duration. With regard to the *second*, it is impossible to discover the intention or precise meaning of it. An equal representation of the people, is liable to two plain and obvious constructions. The *first* is, that all the members of the House of Commons shall be equal, with regard to the number and circumstances of their electors; and the *second*, that every individual in the country shall have an equal vote in the representation. When this convention speaks of supporting the constitution on its genuine acknowledged principles, I am inclined to believe, that they are enemies to a mode of general representation; because it was never an acknowledged or implied principle of the British constitution, to allow every individual, whatever might be his capacity or situation, to vote for a Member of the House of Commons: but, on the other hand, when they make a general appeal to the sense of the people at large, and, at the same time, speak of unrepresented millions, I am apt to conclude, that they mean not to support the constitution on its genuine acknowledged principles. There is, at any rate, a dilemma in the case; and they hold out a very extended ground for association. I shall ask them, on their avowed resolutions, if it be not possible for one number of men to join them with the idea of a more equal representation of the people, and for another number of men, to join them with the idea of a general one? How is it, then, possible, that they should be qualified to take the sense of the nation, when they come forward with resolutions, which lay a foundation for so plain and important a division of sentiment? If their intention was merely to call forth the spirit and sense of the people, their end is already abundantly gained. The spirit and sense of the nation, have been called forth in a manner hostile to their refinements; for it requires more ingenuity than I am possessed of, to
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prove, that all the resolutions from every part of the kingdom, have not been excited by a laudable design to baffle their attempts. I do not charge the convention with any bad design, merely from what I perceive in their resolutions, but from the effects which they have produced on the minds of several of my brethren. I have an opportunity of conversing with men of my own level, who are friends to this convention; and I find that, of those who are equally devoted to it, the most sensible are for a limited, but the most numerous, for a general representation. Whether the most sensible can, in every instance, direct the most numerous; or whether, if they do, this be the equality they contend for, I shall leave the convention to determine. My own opinion concerning the reform of government, can be expressed in very few words. I am no enemy to any moderate or reasonable reform; but I am decidedly of opinion, not only that it should be conducted without confusion or violence, which the convention profess to do, but also, that it should be accomplished by gradual and moderate steps, which is evidently not their intention. The best ends that possibly could be gained to man in a state of society, require a degree of preparation, to enable him to maintain them when they are gained. If our excellent constitution were, by a sudden revolution, or a foreign power, planted, at this moment, in Turkey, it would not produce a single advantage to the inhabitants of that country. They would run into extreme anarchy, or return to arbitrary oppression. The Christian religion itself, although it has been supported, and will be supported, to the end of the world, by Divine Power, was introduced by gradual means, adapted to the condition of human nature. The principles, then, of all proper reform in government, are, that it shall be going on; and that it shall never take one step, which endangers the whole fabric, by introducing a complete revolution in the minds of the subjects. That government is not a bad one which permits abuses, but that which possesses no power of moderately reforming them. Now, the resolutions held forth by this convention, admit the idea of general representation. And even although this were a desirable object, yet, were it introduced at once into the British constitution, it would be attended with the most pernicious consequences. As I have showed above, it would not materially

terially better the condition of the poor, because the wages, and the price of labour, must always be lower or higher, in proportion to the dearness or cheapness of those articles of life which we eat and drink, and wear. It is evident, then, that we would gain nothing by this equality of representation. Let us now enquire, on the other hand, whether we have not a chance of losing. I shall refer the reader to what I have said on Paine's mode of representation, as nearly applicable to any general mode in connection with the British constitution, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons: and I shall farther observe, that equality of representation, as it exists in the minds of many of this convention, would occasion the greatest inequality in the world. On this occasion, I by no means speak in behalf of my brethren; but I trust, I speak as an honest man, in behalf of mankind. I say, as a manufacturer, I would enjoy more than an equal influence in the representative body. We all know, that we have a greater capacity of union, a greater talent for political debate, and more time for association, than other ranks in the kingdom, who equally enjoy the profits of their industry. On these accounts, we could act more in concert, and carry all our points more effectually, in the election of representatives. But society is formed on the principle of giving up a part of our natural rights, for the security of the rest. When you bring men to act as individuals, this never will be done; and therefore, as long as there is any kind of inequality in the conditions of human life, in the powers of the mind, and in the principles on which the private associations of mankind are formed, it is impossible that the representation can be equal, when every individual has an equal right to vote. I would farther point out the evils attending this scheme, from the inequality of influence in every country, and from the confusion and violence which would constantly follow the practice of it. But these I shall make the foundation of another Address to my brethren, if the infatuation of my country should ever render it necessary.

On the whole, I have said nothing but what I believe, in the sight of God, to be for the interest and the happiness of all ranks of men in Great Britain; and I sincerely pray, that my endeavours may not be without success,

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